

Message Text

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ACTION EA-09

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FM AMCONSUL SURABAYA

TO AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 1010

AMCONSUL MEDAN

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT, ID

SUBJECT: EAST JAVA ONE WEEK AFTER ELECTION

1. SUMMARY: EAST JAVA REMAINS CALM AFTER A WEEK OF UNCERTAINTY ABOUT THE LARGE NUMBER OF INVALID AND MISSING VOTES IN THE PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS. THE MOSLEM PARTY HERE APPEARS IN DISARRAY FOLLOWING THE GOLKAR VICTORY. WE EXPECT TO OVERT MOVEMENT TO PROTEST THE ELECTION OUTCOME; LOCAL MOSLEM LEADERS ARE LEAVING IT TO PARTY LEADERS IN JAKARTA TO MAKE REPRESENTATIONS ON THEIR BEHALF. THERE ARE REPORTS OF REPRISALS AGAINST PRO-GOLKAR VILLAGE HEADMEN, BUT ONLY ONE SUCH INCIDENT HAS BEEN VERIFIED. END SUMMARY.

2. ONE WEEK AFTER THE GENERAL ELECTION, SURABAYA AND MOST OF EAST JAVA REMAIN QUIET. BECAUSE OF THE PROTEST OF THE EAST JAVA ELECTION RETURNS MADE BY THE PPP EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE IN JAKARTA THE GOVERNOR HAS ANNOUNCED THAT AN INVESTIGATION WILL BE MADE INTO THE MISSING 2 1/2 MILLION VOTES AND A RECOUNT WILL BE CONDUCTED AT THE KECAMATAN LEVEL. THREE CAUSES HAVE BEEN GIVEN AS TO WHY 2 1/2

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MILLION REGISTERED VOTERS WERE NOT INCLUDED IN THE FINAL TALLY--1) BALLOTS WERE DECLARED INVALID DURING THE COUNTING AT THE LOCAL TPS ON ELECTION DAY; 2) VOTERS DID NOT RECEIVE THEIR PERMIT TO VOTE (FORM AB) AT THE POLLING SITE AWAY FROM THEIR PLACE OF ORIGIN; OR 3) PEOPLE SIMPLY CHOSE NOT TO EXERCISE THEIR RIGHT TO VOTE, WHICH IS NOT PENALIZED IN ANY WAY IN INDONESIA. IN RESPONSE TO THE

LARGE NUMBER OF VOTES DECLARED INVALID, GOVERNOR SUNANDAR (NO DOUBT BEING PROMPTED BY INTERIOR MINISTER AMIRMACHMUD) HAS RULED THAT IN RECOUNTING VOTES THE KACAMATAN ELECTION COMMITTEES SHOULD NOW INCLUDE FOUR VARIETIES OF PREVIOUSLY INVALID BALLOTS IN THE NEW TALLY--BALLOTS WITH TWO HOLES IN ONE SYMBOL, BALLOTS WITH A HOLE LARGER THAN THE VOTING NEEDLE; BALLOTS WITH A HOLE IN THE SYMBOL AND ANOTHER ONE ABOVE OR BELOW THE SYMBOL; AND BALLOTS WITH A HOLD ON THE LINE BUT STILL WITHIN ONE SYMBOL. (CONSULATE OFFICERS OBSERVED DURING THE COUNTING LAST MONDAY THAT MANY BALLOTS WERE DECLARED INVALID FOR THE ABOVE REASONS EVEN THOUGH THE INTENT OF THE VOTER WAS CLEAR. OUR FEELING WAS THAT THE TWO TPS CHAIRMEN WE OBSERVED WERE BEING OVERSCRUPULOUS IN FOLLOWING THE ELECTION REGULATIONS, AND THAT THERE WAS NO DISCRIMINATION IN THIS PROCESS IN FAVOR OF THE GOVERNMENT SINCE THE BULK OF THE VOTES WE SAW THROWN OUT WOULD HAVE GONE TO GOLKAR. IN DEFENSE OF THE WAY THE ELECTION WAS CONDUCTED, THE GOVERNOR HAS SAID THAT THE LARGE NUMBER OF VOTING ERRORS IS ATTRIBUTABLE TO THE FAILURE OF GOLKAR AND THE PARTIES TO CORRECTLY INSTRUCT THEIR SUPPORTERS HOW TO VOTE. THE PPP HAS REMONSTRATED THAT IT WAS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE ELECTION COMMITTEE, NOT THE PARTIES, TO PROVIDE VOTING INSTRUCTIONS. ON THE ISSUE OF VOTERS NOT RECEIVING THEIR AB FORM, DIAJADI SUDJONO, VICE-CHAIRMAN OF THE EAST JAVA ELECTION COMMITTEE CONTENDS THAT THIS IS A RESULT OF THE LARGE NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLD SERVANTS AND SEASONAL WORKERS (E.G. MADURESE FARMERS PEDALING BECAKS IN SURABAYA) WHO COULD NOT AFFORD TO GO HOME BUT WHO FAILED TO ASK FOR THE AB FORM TO PERMIT THEM TO VOTE WHERE THEY WERE WORKING. THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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GOVERNOR HAS ANNOUNCED THAT THE FINAL OUTCOME OF THE RECOUNT WILL BE ANNOUNCED AFTER JUNE 3. WE NOTE THAT THE POLITICAL PARTIES WILL NOT BE PERMITTED TO OBSERVE THE RECOUNT AT THE KACAMATAN LEVEL BEFORE THAT TIME.

3. OVER THE WEEKEND, CONSULATE OFFICER CALLED ON KYAI

ABDULLAH SIDIQ, CHAIRMAN OF THE PPP FOR EAST JAVA. SIDIQ APPEARED PERSONALLY SHAKEN BY THE RESULT OF THE ELECTION AND REPEATEDLY REMARKED DURING THE COURSE OF THE CONVERSATION THAT THE PARTY WAS DISSATISFIED WITH THE RESULTS IN EAST JAVA. HE SAID "IT IS CERTAIN THAT THIS RESULT IS NOT GENUINE." GIVEN THE FACT THAT THE "YOUNGER GENERATION" SUPPORTED PPP IN 1977, WHICH WAS NOT THE CASE IN 1971, SIDIQ BELIEVES IT IMPOSSIBLE THAT THE PARTY ACTUALLY RECEIVED LESS THAN 5 MILLION VOTES IN THE PROVINCE. SIDIQ SAID THAT IF THE CAMPAIGN AND ELECTION HAD BEEN CONDUCTED THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY THE WAY IT WAS IN JAKARTA UNDER ALI SIDIKIN, THE RESULTS WOULD BE THE SAME AS IN JAKARTA.

SIDIQ SAID THAT THE TASK NOW IS TO CONCENTRATE ON THE RE-COUNTING OF THE VOTES, ADDING HOPEFULLY THAT AT THE VERY LEAST PPP WILL RECEIVE 6 MILLION VOTES IN THE RECOUNTING BECAUSE MOST OF THE 2 1/2 MILLION LOST VOTES WILL FALL IN THE PPP COLUMN. SIDIQ SPOKE AT SOME LENGTH ABOUT THE SITUATION IN PAKISTAN, BUT HE SAID, EVEN THOUGH DISAPPOINTED AND DISBELIEVING, HIS PEOPLE ARE NOT LIKE THE PAKISTANIS IN THAT THEY DO NOT BECOME EASILY AGITATED. ON THURSDAY, EAST JAVA PPP LEADERS MET IN SURABAYA TO DISCUSS THEIR STRATEGY. THEY ARE MAKING NO OVERT PROTEST TO THE VOTE HERE, APPARENTLY CONTENT TO LEAVE THAT TO THE PARTY LEADERSHIP IN JAKARTA. THE DISAPPOINTING SHOWING BY PPP IN EAST JAVA IS LIKELY TO LEAD TO AN EARLY STRUGGLE FOR CONTROL OF THE PARTY IN EAST JAVA BETWEEN THE OLDER, ESTABLISHMENT GENERATION OF THE PARTY AS REPRESENTED BY SIDIQ AND THE MORE RADICAL, YOUNGER GENERATION OF THE PARTY LED BY HAJI ZAKI GUFFRON, CHAIRMAN OF THE SURABAYA PPP LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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(SECOND LEVEL ORGANIZATION.)

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ACTION EA-09

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L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

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FM AMCONSUL SURABAYA

TO AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 1011

AMCONSUL MEDAN

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4. ALTHOUGH SECURITY IN THE PROVINCE HAS RELAXED SOMEWHAT,

THERE ARE STILL MORE TROOPS EVIDENT ON THE STREETS IN SURABAYA DN IN CARAVANS LEAVING THE CITY THAN IS NORMALLY THE CASE. VIOLENCE BROKE OUT ON AN ISLAND OFF PROBOLINGGO LAST WEDNESDAY WHEN A MOB BURNED DOWN THE VILLAGE HEADMAN'S THREE HOUSES, KILLED ONE OF HIS ASSISTANTS, AND SERIOUSLY INJURED TWO HANSIP (CIVIL DEFENSE) TROOPS. THE HEADMAN MANAGED TO ESCAPE, AND ORDER HAS BEEN RESTORED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE EAST JAVA POLICE CHIEF. SIDIQ AND OTHER PPP MEMBERS HAVE SAID THAT THIS WAS A RESULT OF THE HEAVY-HANDED TACTICS OF GOLKAR IN THE VILLAGES DURING THE CAMPAIGN. THE EAST JAVA PRESS HAS REPORTED THAT THE POLITICAL PARTIES WERE CALLED UPON TO HELP RESTORE ORDER, BUT THE ACTUAL CAUSE OF THE VIOLENCE IN PROBOLINGGO IS STILL NOT CLEAR. WE HAVE ALSO HEARD RUMORS THAT AS MANY AS FIVE PRO-GOLKAR VILLAGE HEADMEN HAVE BEEN KILLED SINCE THE ELECTION, BUT THIS IS NOT VERIFIABLE, AND WE ARE INCLINED TO DOUBT THAT REPRISALS HAVE REACHED THIS LEVEL SO SOON AFTER THE VOTING. AMONG THE MANY RUMORS SWEEPING THE CITY ARE THAT THE JUNIOR ARMY OFFICERS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ARE UPSET OVER INFLAMMATORY SPEECHES MADE BY THE SECOND-LEVEL, MORE RADICAL PPP LEADERS DURING THE COURSE OF THE CAMPAIGN, AND THEY WANT TO IMPOSE SOME PENALTY ON THE RADICAL MOSLEMS NOW THAT THE CAMPAIGN IS OVER. THERE IS A REPORT THAT BAGUS SASMITO, COMMANDER OF KOREM 084 FOR SURABAYA CITY AND MADURA HAS THREATENED THE LIFE OF ZAKI GUFFRON. IF THIS KIND OF ACTIVITY IS INDEED GOING ON, THIS MAY EXPLAIN WHY PPP LEADERS ARE NOT PROTESTING THE ELECTION HERE, BUT ARE CHANNELING THEIR DISSATISFACTION THROUGH JAKARTA. AN ADHOC GROUP OF YOUNG PEOPLE, UNIVERSITY STUDENTS, JOURNALISTS, ARTISTS, AND UNEMPLOYED INTELLECTUALS, CALLING THEMSELVES "THE NEW GENERATION" HELD A MEETING AT A LOCAL CULTURAL HALL FROM 5 PM ON THURSDAY EVENING UNTIL 1 AM ON FRIDAY. THE PURPOSE OF THE MEETING BEFOREHAND, WE UNDERSTAND, WAS TO COME UP WITH SOME SORT OF STATEMENT PROTESTING THE WAY THE CAMPAIGN AND VOTING WERE CONDUCTED IN EAST JAVA. HOWEVER, AT THE END OF THE EVENING, A CONSENSUS WAS REACHED NOT TO ISSUE ANY STATEMENT, BUT TO SIMPLY "GO UNDERGROUND" TO WORK AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT. THEY SAID THEY WOULD GO AROUND THE DESAS AND INFORM THE PEOPLE OF THE UNFAIRNESS OF THE ELECTION. OUR INTERPRETATION OF "GO UNDERGROUND" IS THAT THEY WILL DO NOTHING.

5. COMMENT: THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT WILL USE THE NEXT THREE WEEKS IN MUCH THE SAME WAY IT USED TRANQUIL WEEK--TO CONSOLIDATE ITS POSITION AND ALLOW THE HEAT OF THE ELECTION TO DISSIPATE. IT IS OUR JUDGMENT THAT THE GOLKAR VICTORY IN EAST JAVA WAS PROBABLY NOT ACHIEVED THROUGH WIDE-SPREAD DECEPTION AND CHICANERY DURING THE VOTING AND VOTE-COUNTING.

MANY VOTES WERE THROWN OUT BECAUSE OF TOO STRICT APPLICATION OF THE VOTING REGULATIONS. THE VICTORY WAS LARGELY THE RESULT OF AN ORGANIZATIONAL EFFORT TO DESTROY THE STRENGTH OF THE TRADITIONAL MOSLEM BLOC IN THE PROVINCE THROUGH BUYING THE LOYALTY OF MOSLEM TEACHERS, MAKING LARGE CONTRIBUTIONS TO MUSLEM BOARDING SCHOOLS, AND THREATENING PEOPLE WITH UNEMPLOYMENT IF GOLKAR LOST. THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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UNFAIR ADVANTAGE THAT GOLKAR USED ON ELECTION DAY WAS NOT GROSS NUMBER MANIPULATION BUT THE CONSEQUENCE OF MONTHS AND YEARS OF ORGANIZATIONAL PREPARATION. BASED ON OUR OBSERVATION DURING THE COUNTING PROCESS, GOLKAR WILL PROBABLY INCREASE ITS MAJORITY IN EAST JAVA AFTER THE GOVERNMENT INCLUDES ALL THE BALLOTS THAT WERE DISALLOWED DURING THE FIRST COUNT.

6. AT LUNCH WITH THE PRINCIPAL OFFICER MAY 9, ARMADA COMMANDER ADMIRAL RUDY PURWANA SAID THAT WHILE TIGHT SECURITY WAS BEING MAINTAINED, HE DID NOT EXPECT SERIOUS DISTURBANCES TO RESULT FROM THE DISPUTE OVER THE ELECTION RETURNS.
BROWER

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